1: Tessmann--51 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text./ Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dzige tsi. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

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tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent – this will be pursued further later on – that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure, upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

2444 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngŏ̄n also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngŏ̄n), he would not have been able to marry a girl [194] (ngṓn)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngô̄n), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngŏ̄n), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngṓn). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

2444 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 602] communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

2444 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

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Fig. 53. Woman from Bébai (Esseng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

244 [462] sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps; the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. By the middle of May it is already knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked — a job

226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (nsŏn I) and ordinary baskets (nkŏ́ I), poisoning fish (ngu̯m IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lŭ̯k (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dža̯d), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [824] tied to a stalk from the pliant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkŏmonkŏ́mo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

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/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text./

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

IV. Trapping

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After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄i, ndǎ́n I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekūi dī)
   3. Spring plates (akui)
   4. Spear trap (elú́n)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (ašima, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olǎ́m)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olǎ́m) (1)

1. Not to be confused with the alǎ́m (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwǎ́s I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbúń I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndǔ́ń IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekle le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlíń I)

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebăngabăngа).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ajĭnebe-nzăm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžŏmmekŭm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (să[s]-dzăm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebŭgebŏ'n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andžk); a Composita (elŏ[k]-osŭe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfŭpfŭ'i-zăm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajăn-osŭe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkŏn afă'n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndĕ's). /148/

258 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zăm), cut down the
•442 salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
285 funnel which they crudely plait (ngă'n nkŭ IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkŏmokŏ'mo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is
[284] closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum (obŭ'o), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atŏ't) (1);

> 1. From the stem tŏ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

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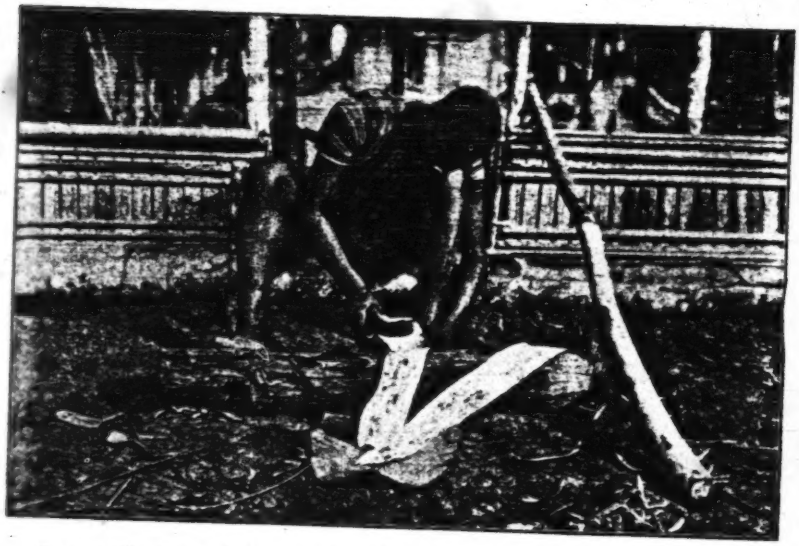

Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

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314 done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

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463 With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching, and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

The simplest material for fiber work is thread (klĕs IV, ndĕ's, IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (klĕs IV, ndĕ's IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text./ They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngăk), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gaertnera, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (mfŏk I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text./

2. Carrying baskets (nkŏē' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-ažŭ̃ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-ebē = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ažŭ̃ĭ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebē) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

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5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā'ś) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edžǐ́ń) (1),

1. This is also used for flutes (ndžǐ́ń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akō-edžǐ́ń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

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The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

[462]

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afǒn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

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[824]

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkŏ́ē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlŏń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okŏkŏ́ē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekǎ́ha nšūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text./

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

325 entirely covered with charcoal and melted with the help of the bellows. As soon as the blue flames appear, the smith removes the coals from the top of the pot, seizes the latter with his tongs, and pours the liquid metal into molds. These are halved raffia leafstalks in whose pith a suitable negative form is cut (Fig. 191). Then he cleans out the coal fragments that might have fallen into it and pours on water. After it has cooled, the brass is taken out of the mold and, heated, it is again worked, that is to say, the coarser roughness is beaten down with the large forging iron. In the case of the engraved neck rings (see Fig. 14), the two ends are now /239/ /Fig. 187 appears here in the original text/ beaten out with the tapper and rolled with light blows over the surface which is then carefully smoothed with the tapper. This is a rather laborious job, since the rod must time and time again be placed in the fire for a time. Now the ring is bent by skillfully hammering the inner surface on the edge of the anvil, and it is hammered completely together on the large forging iron placed over two props. Finally it is filed smooth, whereby the brilliant yellow brass color appears in place of the hitherto black color; then various patterns are engraved on it with the help of three different strong chisels (Fig. 192) and other tools (Fig. 193).

5. Pottery.

323 [462] Unlike the crafts mentioned so far, pottery is in the hands of the women. Only tobacco pipes and blast pipes are made by men. Pottery is not very highly developed; its forms are poor and decoration is rare. /Fig. 188 appears here in the original text./ The main products of pottery are assembled in Figure 194:

1. Water flasks (eš̄ūgă);
2. Large and small cooking pots (mvé IV and obébé);
3. Smithy funnels (žǒ̂ IV);

in addition, the following are also made,

4. Tobacco pipes, and
5. Brass smelting pots.

This is the extent of the use of clay objects. / /Fig. 189 appears here in the original text./ /240/

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Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four-edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195). 323 [531]

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the [462]

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the primary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft.

[462]

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches ... they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J. B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

Ba dụ mbóa ozui, e vóm a ne ndútál: a kaga boma mĕlu mĕla, be keli tás: be sálí ne nye: be nâû mbŭk: be kĕzi nye mbák iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kĕzi nye ĕ mvĕ: vekoba ji: ve telĕ mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.